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AMERICAN SOCIALIST

JUNE LEAFLET

"Protect Your Rights", by Ralph Korngold.
75 cents per 1,000

VOL. III. No. 47.

304

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JUNE 2, 1917.

25 CENTS FOR SIX MONTHS; 50 CENTS PER YEAR; \$1 PER YEAR OUTSIDE UNITED STATES

We Mourn For Liberty In America!

IF THIS is the beginning what will be the end?

That is the all important question that looms big as we survey all the facts relating to the refusal, by the state department at Washington, to grant passports to the delegates chosen by the American Socialist Party to attend the International Socialist Conference at Stockholm.

That is a question that may well be asked by every peace loving American when it is announced by the administration's chief censor at Washington that consideration of possible peace terms is to be prohibited.

These are the beginnings of a tyranny that the Czars under the old regime would never have dared enforce in Russia.

No effort has been made to inflict any such autocratic dictums upon the peoples of any other country of Europe, belligerent or neutral.

SINCE all belief in the administration's plea that this was a "war for democracy" was not entirely dead, the despotic refusal of passports to Morris Hillquit, Victor L. Berger and Algernon Lee, who were to represent the American Socialists at Stockholm, was a thunderclap out of a clear sky.

This decision was reached by the administration without giving a hearing to Morris Hillquit who journeyed to Washington on purpose to present this matter to the government. The state department had decided, for the purposes of refusing passports to the Socialist delegates that the Stockholm gathering is a pro-German conference, and it refuses to consider any evidence to the contrary.

Requests that the state department reconsider its position have so far fallen on deaf ears.

SECRETARY of State Lansing had to go back more than 100 years to discover an excuse for the action taken by the state department.

In the musty archives of 1779 he found the aged Logan Law, providing that any citizen who, "without permission or authority of the government, directly or indirectly, carries on any verbal or written correspondence or intercourse with any foreign government, or any officer or agent thereof, with intent to influence any disputes or controversies with the United States or defeat the measures of the United States", shall be punished by fine and imprisonment. The penalty provided is three years imprisonment and a \$5,000 fine.

IT CERTAINLY took a wide stretch of an able imagination to apply this aged statute to a Twentieth Century institution like the International Socialist movement.

Delegates to International Socialist Congresses can in no way represent any government. They represent the working classes of the different nations, and the working class is in control of but two nations on the face of the earth, Russia and its dependency, Finland.

Fear of the Russian peace terms of "no annexations and no indemnities" can only be interpreted as meaning that the United States has embarked upon an imperialist enterprise in entering this war, and that it has surrendered its claim that this is "a war for democracy".

WITHOUT wishing to act as "informer", but doubting the sincerity of the administration, we desire to ask why this Logan Law of 1779 has not already been enforced against the officials of the Socialist Party?

Ever since the war started, Morris Hillquit, international secretary, and Adolph Germer, national secretary of the American

Socialist Party, have been in touch with the officials of the International Socialist Bureau, at The Hague, Holland, and at Stockholm, Sweden. These are the same officials and the same bureau that the delegates of the American Socialist Party would come in contact with if they went to Stockholm. All of the correspondence between the American Socialists and the Socialists of the International Bureau is published in The Socialist Party Bulletin, the subscription price of which is 25 cents a year. Every government official should read it.

If it is a crime against the laws of the United States to send delegates to the International Socialist Conference at Stockholm, then Hillquit and Germer, and other officials of the Socialist Party in this country, have already violated that law by corresponding with the International Socialist Bureau.

It is probably too much to expect consistency of a government in time of war, but it may help to educate our government officials to point out this inconsistency.

LISTENED TO INFORMERS.

LISTENING eagerly to volunteer informers, former members of the Socialist Party, the department of state reached its tyrannical conclusions without even giving a hearing to those about to fall under the ban of its displeasure. The story is best told by Morris Hillquit who went to Washington to arrange for the passports.

He said that he had seen Counsellor Polk of the state department, and also Lansing; that he had been led to believe from his talks with them that the passports would be issued.

He stated, however, that he found both officials very much opposed to the Socialist international conference, that it seems the articles and libels of Russell, Walling and others were fully credited by the administration. This notwithstanding that Hillquit had written to Secretary Lansing referring to the publication of the statement of this group, and offering, as the American member of the International Socialist Bureau, to submit all correspondence, documents and facts from which this government could easily ascertain the real character of the Stockholm conference.

The department of state did not afford Hillquit an opportunity to present the true state of the case.

When Hillquit saw Counsellor Polk, this official frankly stated that he had definitely made up his mind that the Stockholm conference was a pro-German affair intended to promote a separate peace. When asked by Hillquit why no opportunity had been given him to present facts that would prove the contrary, Polk made no reply.

In order to make sure that his position would not be misinterpreted, Hillquit submitted a written statement to the following effect:

That the international conference at Stockholm was not called, nor initiated by the Socialists of Germany nor by any pro-German interests, but that it was called by the International Socialist Bureau, which was composed of Socialists of all countries, including allied countries, the central powers and the neutral countries.

That the object of the conference was not to promote a separate peace, but a universal peace, on terms which would safeguard a universal peace for the future and a universal democracy. That another object was to reestablish the International of the Socialists of the different countries.

That his own attitude was positive opposition to a separate peace, or to a peace more in the interests of the central powers than the allies. That in common with the Socialists of all countries he favored a speedy universal peace substantially along the lines outlined by President Wilson before the Senate, and which program had been endorsed by the Socialists of France, Italy, Russia and Austria.

When asked to state specifically what he thought of the action of the government in refusing passports, Hillquit said he regretted it, because it was a hostile, arbitrary and shortsighted. That it was hostile because it showed a credulity and illiberality that one would not expect from statesmen. That the government had swallowed what was literally a ghost story without showing any attempt to discriminate between fact and fiction.

That it was arbitrary because it prevented American citizens from talking peace abroad, while it allowed them to talk it at home.

That it deliberately denied the freedom of the seas to citizens who wished to travel abroad to help bring peace, while it had been insisting upon this right to travel the seas.

That the action was very shortsighted, because of its effects on the various countries of Europe, and particularly on Russia. That 50 per cent of the people and government of Russia were Socialists, and that they would not fail to understand the reason for this refusal to allow Socialists of America to attend an international conference.

That this government had sent a special commission to Russia to assure its people of our friendship and that the refusal of passports to American Socialists could not conduce to a warm reception by the Russian people of this commission.

IN commenting on the action of the department of state, Victor L. Berger said:

If this ukase of the state department is not reconsidered America will be the only country in the world whose government will not grant any passports to delegates for the purpose of attending the International Socialist conference in Stockholm. England, Germany, France, Italy and even Spain and Roumania will have delegates—Russia will be there in full force, but America will not be represented because our government seems to be afraid that the three American delegates going to Stockholm may bring about peace and that the stocks of the steel trust and munition trust might suffer a big slump.

No separate peace propaganda with Russia is contemplated—the International Socialist movement, however, will not take orders from Mr. Lansing any more than it did from Czar Nicholas.

The Socialists will stand on their rights and try to get their passports, to which they are entitled as American citizens going there on a legitimate mission.

According to reports from the east, this refusal from the state department was made in compliance to the fervent prayer of a handful of ex-Socialist and pork chop patriots who are asking for exceptional laws against the Socialist movement in America.

The threat of Mr. Lansing of applying the Logan law of 1799 against Socialists who would go to Stockholm is rather characteristic for a government claiming to fight for democracy. However, the threat is entirely gratuitous since it is not the intention of any delegate to sneak his way to Stockholm. Moreover, no boat will accept a passenger who has no passport.

IT IS a pleasure and an inspiration to be sure, to all Socialists, to realize now after nearly three years of war, that even the government of the United States has recognized the power and influence of the International Socialist Movement.

This is the same international Socialist movement that was effectively and finally killed and buried by the jingo press and the old party politicians at the outset of this war.

Let the government not be misled by a few renegade Socialists and place hunters as to the real strength of this movement.

THE state department tries to make out that this is a pro-German conference and that German Socialists, representing the German government, will be in control.

With equal confidence we hereby charge that the conference is pro-American, in that it was really called by the American Socialist Party, but Secretary of State Lansing will not claim that Hillquit, Berger and Lee will represent the government of the United States.

In support of the statement that this conference was inspired by the American Socialist Party, we quote from a letter written by Morris Hillquit, international secretary, to Adolph Germer, national secretary, on May 8th, urging the election of three delegates to the Stockholm conference. This entire letter is found on page four, of the May issue of the Socialist Party Bulletin. Hillquit writes as follows:

"It must be remembered that it is the Socialist Party of the United States that is primarily responsible for the convocation of the conference. It was our party which several months ago sent lengthy cables to the International Socialist Bureau and to all affiliated Socialist parties urging a speedy convocation of an International Socialist Peace Conference. We went to the extent of informing the International Socialist Bureau that unless action was taken upon our motion we would request the Socialist Party of Holland to take the initiative, and if the latter failed to do so, we would call such a conference upon our own invitation. The International Socialist Bureau has yielded to our request and for the first time since the outbreak of the war has called a general conference of the Socialist Parties of all countries, belligerent as well as neutral. The Socialist Party of Holland is heartily co-operating with the bureau, and it would place our party in a very peculiar position if we, the initiators of the move, were to stay away from the conference."

If the department of state at Washington can detect the machinations of the Kaiser in that document it is welcome to do so.

THE big discussion at the Stockholm conference, which will be held altho the American delegates cannot attend, will be over the terms of Peace.

Following the refusal of passports to the Socialist delegates comes the astounding news from Washington that all discussion of peace terms in the United States is prohibited.

This prohibition is contained in a set of rules just made public by the government censor at Washington. Once these rules are enacted into law, the people who do the fighting and the paying will be denied the right to discuss how this war shall end. They will be denied the right to decide what they are fighting for, paying for and dying for.

NO wonder then that in this hour all Americans having the welfare of the nation and its people at heart declare:

"We mourn for liberty in America!"

And again the question arises:

"If this is the beginning what will be the end?"

THE American Socialist will do all in its power not only to maintain the liberties we have but to regain those we have lost.

In furtherance of this policy it will issue a Special Liberty Edition, dated Saturday, June 30th, for distribution during the week of Independence Day, July 4th. This issue should be given a wide circulation. Send all orders for bundles to The American Socialist, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. The price is 75 cents per 100; \$7.50 per thousand.

Join In The Struggle To Make This A "Land Of Liberty"

THE National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party calls upon all Socialist organizations, in conjunction with sympathetic bodies, to hold public mass meetings and demonstrations on July 4, 1917, for the purpose of peaceably voicing the following demands upon Congress:

1. A Referendum On Conscription.—This is said to be a war for Democracy. The least that can be done to bear out this claim is to give the people a chance to decide whether or not they want to be slaughtered in this unjustifiable war. Congress violated the Federal Constitution in passing the Conscription Law. It broke its trust with the people. The Congressmen at the very outset exempted themselves from the provisions of this law which fastened the shackles of militarism upon the young men of the nation.

Therefore, we demand that the Conscription Act be amended by adding a provision to the effect that the law be submitted to a referendum vote of the people, and that its operation be suspended until it shall have been approved upon such vote.

2. A Clear Statement Of What We Are Fighting For And The Terms On Which Peace Will Be Made.—Some say we are fighting for Democracy—others say it is to protect Morgan's loans to the Allies. Some say we are at war because of the invasion of Belgium—others say it is because of what is going to happen to the world's trade routes and markets. So the American people demand a clear cut and definite statement from President Wilson and the Department of State as to what agreements have been made with the Allied Governments. Above all, we, who did not want to enter this war, want to know the terms on which it will be brought to a close. Politicians have done the bidding of Wall Street and declared this war—but neither Wall Street nor politicians will do the fighting. They expect the people to do the dying, suffering, grieving and the PAYING. Before they ask the working class to fight, let them tell us what we are to fight for.

INDEPENDENCE DAY, JULY 4.

THE Fourth of July is the most American of all American Holidays. Most of the others are imported. But this day is supposed to mark the beginning of American liberty. On this day the "Declaration of Independence" was signed—on this day the Liberty Bell first rang out the joyous message. But this year, 1917, the "Glorious Fourth" will look upon a different condition of affairs. It will find this nation shackled with the bonds of military serfdom. It will see the blight of murder and slavery fastened upon its youngest and strongest men. It will see every constitutional guarantee of life and liberty in danger of utter extinction at the hands of those powers who were elected to office while sailing under the false colors of an anti-war record.

The Socialist Party, standing now as always for the complete freedom of the human race, will with every legitimate power at its command, oppose the Prussianizing of America.

We are fighting to make this a "land of liberty."

MASS MEETINGS FOR LIBERTY.

WE therefore call upon the people of this country to make this Fourth of July mark the beginning of a new spirit of Independence. Our forefathers in 1776 shook off the bonds of political slavery on this date—let us gather to repudiate the fetters of military slavery that have been forged on us in 1917.

In every town and city of this nation the protest should be heard. We have been plunged into the bloodiest war of all time, and in that decision, we, the American people, have never been consulted. Now comes the time to demand that before a single American is sent to his death across the seas, this government which has declared the war, shall first give out a clear and definite statement of what it will have gained, when the ends for which it strives shall have been won. Before this attempt to fasten upon our youth the heritage of death, the people of this land, men and women, must first have the right to speak.

We therefore call upon all people who value the fundamental liberties of this land, to join together with the Socialist Party in arranging mass meetings for the purposes stated above, in every city and town in this country. Let the voice of the people speak in unmistakable terms so that the President will hear and understand. Let our message be:

"NOT A SINGLE SOLDIER UNTIL WE KNOW WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR!"

LIBERTY DEFENSE FUND.

EVERY day the growing Czardom in America is seeking to make new inroads

upon our liberties. We need funds to battle for the rights of free speech, free press and free assemblage. Daily attempts are being made by those in power to strangle these rights.

We need funds to defend those who have already suffered at the hands of the czarism that is ever on the lookout for more victims.

We need funds to defend those who will incur the enmity of entrenched privilege and plunder; to defend those who stand in the forefront of the struggle to maintain our cherished liberties. Send in your contributions, big and small, to the Liberty Defense Fund, care National Office, Socialist Party, 803 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

SPECIAL LIBERTY EDITION.

ANOTHER article by Irwin Tucker will be a feature of the Liberty Edition of The American Socialist, dated Saturday, June 30, that will be out in plenty of time for distribution at your mass meetings, July 4th. There will be additional articles to make people think as they have never thought before. Many copies of this issue are already being ordered for house to house distribution. The price of this issue is 75 cents per 100, \$7.50 per 1,000. Send in your orders now to The American Socialist, 803 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

500,000 Coal Miners Battle Rockefeller And Steel Trust Rule Under Wilson's Democracy

Half a million organized coal miners, with the support of the remainder of the American labor movement, back the demand of John P. White, president of the United Mine Workers of America, that the Committee on Coal Production of President Wilson's Council of National Defense do not "place the great coal areas of the nation at the dictation of avowed enemies of union labor, with all the calamities that would entail."

President White declares that the statement of policy issued by the Coal Production Committee would deliver the now powerful coal miners' union helpless into the hands of the Rockefeller interests and the steel trust. He said: "Not one representative of the workers who produce the coal was consulted in the preparation of the statement and of the policies it proposes. And a leading feature of those proposed policies is the proposition that the mine workers shall not be free to work where they can produce the most coal and where they can advance the interests of the most capable and humanitarian employers, but must stay chained to the service of the incapable, the unfair and unpatriotic exploiters of labor and of natural resources, if they happen once to be in such employment. In spite of all their willing sacrifices, the workers would be denied the heretofore undisputed right to advance their conditions of life to those standards which the most far-seeing and the most numerous of their employers have already recognized they were entitled to."

"All men self respecting enough to be good workers and manful fighters must be free. They must not be chained to the soil in a spirit of the older Russian serfdom, as the arrangement proposed by your Committee on Coal Production would chain them. Every advance which they have gained by the difficult and oftentimes heroic upbuilding of their collective organization and collective action must be safeguarded as a priceless heritage for them and for the nation and for the nation's children."

"It would be most bitterly ironical and most dangerous to overthrow now the splendid and enduring peace which the Mine Workers and the great body of mine owners have attained in order merely to place such men as J. F. Welborn, the Rockefeller agent of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, in dictatorship again of the Colorado and Northwestern field (recalling the Ludlow Massacre) and such men as Erskine Ramsey, of the Steel Corporation, in dictatorship of the Birmingham and other Southern districts."

The hypnotic spell that Samuel Gompers, with the aid of the jingo press, has sought to throw over labor has been broken. The coal miners, 500,000 strong, say they are wide awake. Let the politicians in Washington and the plutocrats in Wall Street take warning!

J. Ogden Armour has taken \$1,000,000 worth of these Liberty Loan bonds. Perhaps he'll force the slaves out in "the yards" to take them off his hands at \$1 a week.

Finland has joined the list of small nationalities clamoring for independence. It ought to be among the first to get it. The Socialist premier, Tokoi, has spoken in favor of it.

When Old Russia Came To Chicago

In next week's American Socialist we will tell how the old Russia of the Czars came to Chicago on Sunday, May 27th, broke up a peaceful, open-air, overflow mass meeting incidental to the huge demonstration held in the historic Auditorium, attended by 6,000 lovers of peace demanding that the United States government state its peace terms. In breaking up the overflow meeting numerous arrests were made, mostly of boys and girls 16, 18 and 20 years of age. Get the truth in next week's American Socialist.

In this issue will also be published the great speech by Seymour Stedman at the Auditorium meeting. This is recognized by all who heard it as the greatest Socialist utterance on the war at the present time. Chief Censor George Creel at Washington has issued a statement practically forbidding discussion of peace terms. This speech should therefore be given wide circulation before the censorship closes in and this gag is enforced. Order your bundles now from The American Socialist, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago. Prices, 75 cents per 100; \$7.50 per thousand.

Rena Mooney Put On Trial; Anti-Labor War Continues!

By THOMAS J. MOONEY.

(By Telegraph To The American Socialist)

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—The city of San Francisco is continuing in its campaign of outraging justice by placing Rena Mooney on trial. The criminal scoundrels, Fickert and Cunha, and their staff of underlings, are prosecuting an innocent woman and defending the perjurer, Oxman. Take warning! There will be more underworld perjury and jury bribing to save the political and social standing of these unscrupulous jackals. The Chamber of Commerce is solidly behind the prosecutions and its railroading-to-the-gallows and frame-up conspiracy against labor. A real and fair trial is impossible under these circumstances. Monster demonstrations and protest meetings should be organized immediately. Exert best efforts to prevent further prosecution of our cases by these criminals. New trial for myself is as yet undecided. In spite of glaring exposure there is real danger ahead.

Fight Just Commencing

The impression is spread all over the country that Tom Mooney is freed and that the San Francisco anti-labor frame-up cases are all over. Mooney is still in imminent danger of being hanged. Warren Billings is still in the penitentiary for life, as far as present conditions are concerned.

Those who imagine that merely because the Frameup plot has been exposed that the victims are saved, are ignorant of the terrible condition of the Pacific Coast with its lynching vigilantes. There is nothing too brazen for them. It is true that Oxman has been caught, arrested and branded for offering to buy perjury to hang Mooney, make District Attorney Fickert Governor, make his assistant Cunha District Attorney, and pay his own, Oxman's, debts with the reward money. It is true that San Francisco knows of the murder plot, but the murder plot is going ahead just the same. Nothing but an automatic stay of execution, thru his appeal, prevented Mooney being hanged on May 17th.

The impression thruout America is that when caught in their murder plot the frame-up would receive universal condemnation and the victims be freed. On the contrary, it is boldly announced by the Chamber of Commerce Vigilante Committee that it intends to back up Fickert in all his doings. That means that the committing of murder by perjury brings no blush to the cheeks of the "open-shoppers." True that Oxman has been arrested and held to answer for his part in the perjury, but that action was taken in a police court only, while the Grand Jury, under orders from the Chamber of Commerce, not only refused to hear all the evidence against Oxman, but passed a vote of confidence in Fickert after he had been proven implicated, and then refused to indict Oxman. Estelle Smith, the woman whose testimony sent Billings to the penitentiary, had been thought a credible witness enough for that, but when she made affidavits that F. C. Oxman, the man whose testimony had convicted Mooney, had offered her a bribe of "five figures," the Grand Jury would not wait one day to hear his testimony.

All of San Francisco and California labor has lined up solidly, demanding the prisoner's release. Fickert's recall from office. The Vigilante Committee of the Chamber of Commerce has accepted this as a challenge to labor war.

Every union man in the State of Washington folded his arms and refused to work for ten minutes on May 1st as a warning against the hanging of Mooney.

Rena Mooney, the music teacher wife of Tom Mooney, is nearing the shadow of the gallows herself. The fight is just commencing friends, the greatest struggle of its kind in American labor history. This is no time to stop—it is time to begin. If you have done your best already, now is the time to do more than your best.

Give us mass meetings, give us publicity, give us funds for the fight! WE MUST WIN!

Come! Ye Slaves!

By HENRY EDWARD KEAS.

Come! Ye slaves—Register! Come! Like sheep to the slaughter—For willingly or not You must fight and die for—whom?

For the "Morgan" States of "Jay"merica. For the not-bellied "pay"trials of Plutocracy. For YOUR MASTERS!

Slaves! Know ye not your masters? We are the same ye knew at Lawrence and Ludlow.

At Calumet and West Virginia—The same who gave you bullets when you asked for bread—Aye! The very same.

Slaves! Look sharp and register—For heavy is the penalty should you refuse—A prison sentence—and mayhap the firing squad.

Come! Slaves, hasten! That we may fasten the yoke—For the sign of the dollar. For grasp at bread—bread and grasp. For the rape of justice. For the killing of free speech and press. For the broadening of the arms of assaillants. For the throttling of Liberty!

Come! Ye slaves. BOW THE NECK—and REGISTER!

What's The Use?

"Submarine Boat Corporation," one of the best known of the "War Brides," reports that it is bending every effort to greatly extend the productivity of its plant to take full possible advantage of the Government work which will be very heavy and urgent from this time on.

It has recently been awarded a contract for 14 hulls for submarine chasers at \$50,000 to \$55,000 each. The company is also bidding on the new submarines to be built for the U. S. Navy and expects at least 75 per cent of the business to come its way.

On top of the war there is a race between the armor and the projectile, and it is rather interesting to note that here too the same company that builds the submarine also turns out its antitank. When will people become sensible enough to stand up and ask: "What's the use?"

60 per cent of the adult wage earners of the United States receive a wage of \$600 or less a year.

The Post Office Department unearthed frauds netting the swindlers 100 million dollars in five years.

Murdering Machinery

NOTE.—This is an extract from the chapter on "Modern Murdering Machinery," in George R. Kirkpatrick's book, "What For?" This book was written long before the present war started. This extract is well worth reading, especially at the present time when young men are not only being asked to enlist, but when they will soon be forced into the army thru conscription.

By GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK. Ah, so you are on your way to the recruiting station, are you? Well, there will be plenty of time to enlist to-morrow, and there are also seven days of next week that have not been touched yet. Do not be in a hurry to sign your name. Wait a little—wait at least till you have read what follows:

Perhaps you are feverish. Cool off before you enlist. Go back to the 60's and read three or four lines of American Civil War history before you enlist. Here they are in the words of a distinguished authority, A. S. Bolles:

"With the swift cooling of the war fever bounties became necessary to stimulate enlistment.... In 1861 the highways were filled with volunteers eagerly rushing to the front; but in 1865 they went with much slower pace and with a much better conception of the hazardous game of war." The hateful method called drafting had to be vigorously applied by the Federal Government after the young men found out what war really meant—for them.

And Professor John B. McMaster (University of Pennsylvania) makes it clear that even the hot blood of the young men of the South also cooled down to an extremely rational temperature as the slaughter proceeded. He says:

"Quite as desperate were the shifts to which the South was put for soldiers. At first every young man was eager to rush to the front. But as time passed, it became necessary to force men into the ranks, to 'conscript' them...."

In this connection read the words of a great Union soldier, General Sherman:

"In confess without shame that I am tired and sick of war. Its glory is all moonshine. Even success the most brilliant is over dead and mangled bodies, the anguish and lamentations of distant families, husbands and fathers. It is only those who have not heard a shot nor heard the shrieks and groans of the wounded and lacerated that cry aloud for more blood, more vengeance, more desolation."

It is especially important that before you enlist you should get a distinct idea of the horrible deadliness of modern butchering machinery. Since General Sherman made the comment just quoted on the American Civil War the killing machinery has been improved astonishingly.

In the recent Russian-Japanese war individual soldiers, as shown by actual count and official report, received as many as seventy bullet wounds—they were riddled—torn to pieces—with lead and steel fired from MODERN slaughtering machines. If you will read all of the present and the following sections you will no longer wonder why the "very BEST" people do not enlist for actual service—at the front.

READ CAREFULLY: In the one Battle of Mukden (Russian-Japanese War) there was a greater total battle energy, more killing power, than at any time in the American Civil War along the entire battle front from the Chesapeake Bay to the mouth of the Mississippi River—over twelve hundred miles; and in that one battle more men were slaughtered in ten successive days than in the American Civil War the Russians lost 25 per cent of 400,000 and the Japanese lost 12 per cent of 500,000.—See article by Brigadier-General Tasker H. Bliss (U. S. A.), American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 26.

I would suggest and even urge, brothers, that, before you enlist, you visit your dear pastor and read with him all of the present section on "Hell," and then ask him to read with him and his sons will probably enlist for actual firing-line work—rifle—and—bayonet service. Also have a heart-to-heart talk with your loving friend, your banker, who takes care of your money for you. Read these paragraphs to him and ask him whether he is eager to rush to the front and whether he is urging his sons and sons-in-law to be ready to rush with him to the front for real fighting into "the grasp of death," into "the hurricane's fiery breath," where sabres flash, bullets hiss, and cannon roar.

By the way, do you deposit much money in the bank? Do you frequently visit socially at the banker's handsome home? Did you ever see a cheap, fifteen-dollar-a-month soldier courting the banker's or the big manufacturer's daughter?

Well, hardly. These leading citizens strut before you and fill you full of fierce and splendid talk about becoming "brave" behind the gun; but at the same

What Will We Have, When We Have Enough?

By IRWIN TUCKER.

What are we fighting for? Since our entry into the war to abolish secret diplomacy, our State Department has muzzled every member of its staff, with the exception of Secretary Lansing and a newspaper man whom he has appointed chief of the Department of Public Intelligence.

The Senate and the House of Representatives have been denied permission to consult with the foreign envoys.

Obstructive tactics have been thrown around every newspaper which has attempted to clear up the dark fog of mystery surrounding our actual objects. The British and French envoys have come and gone. The terms of peace as well as the means of war were discussed, and according to the Associated Press a thorough understanding was reached between the President and the foreigners.

But what was it? Nobody has been told. The New Republic, chief of the highbrow organs who shouted for war, says in its issue of May 12:

"The nation which entered this war against autocracy, which has claimed to stand for democratic diplomacy, asks its citizens to make enormous sacrifices, to accept universal service, for a cause which apparently cannot bear the light of publicity."

What are we fighting for? Is it true that the cause which we are told is the cause of a world federation

Gretchen Talks To Her Doll

By MARY WHITE OVINGTON.

It must be a comfort, my dear, to be stuffed full of sawdust. You don't mind going without butter on your bread—And such nasty bread, too.

And no meat or pudding, not even on Sunday. And waking up at night to think of fresh milk and sausages, With your knees to your chin to keep the ache away. You are just as fat as when the war began.

But feel of my arm, isn't it skinny? I'm as skinny as farmer Max's cow. I'm as thin as my kitten they killed last week.

If Otto had been here he would never have let them. You remember Otto, my brother Otto? He sent you his love in the very last letter he wrote me.

But Otto is dead and now they have taken my kitten. Do you know when the war will stop? I do. Mother told me herself:—

When all of the children are hungry, hungrier than I am; When the little French boys, you remember them, don't you, they wear such funny capes; And the Russian babies they wrap up tight from the cold; And those girls in bright petticoats way off in Flanders; And all of the children in wicked and cruel old England; When they all are as hungry, as hungry; So their knees shake each time they go walking— The way Granny Thelky shakes and stumbles— When they dream, as I did last night, of giants and ogres; When the babies cry all night long, not once in a while, but each minute; Then, Mother says, the war will be done and all our foes will be conquered.

My throat aches down to my waist. I wish I were like you and stuffed full of sawdust.

time they despise you socially. Don't foolishly get BEHIND the gun or in FRONT of the gun—not at least till you have studied the gun.

A high-grade modern rifle can be fired twenty-five times per minute. This gun will pierce 60 pine boards each one inch thick. It will kill a man at a distance of four miles. A bullet with sufficient force to pierce a one-inch pine board will kill a man or a horse.

Actual tests show that a bullet from modern rifles will force a bullet thru a target made of the following combination:—fifteen folds of cow-hide, sixteen one-inch pine boards, and one and four-fifths inches of hard beech wood. Bullets fired from rifles used in the American Civil War would do little damage after passing into or thru the bodies of soldiers in the front ranks. Men in the second and third ranks felt much protected by the bodies of men in front of them. ALL IS DIFFERENT NOW.

Modern rifles will force a bullet thru five horses at 27 yards; four horses at 220 yards; two horses at 1,100 yards. Even as recently as the war of 1870-71 and the war of 1877-78, bullets from rifles then used in the German army would not pierce a human skull at a distance of 1,760 yards, one mile; but with the best modern rifles bullets can be fired thru the thick bones of an ox at a range of 3,850 yards, about two and one-half miles. Experiments demonstrate that the best modern rifles will force a bullet thru three human bodies at a range of 3,900 feet; and thru five human bodies at 1,200 feet. In the American Civil War bullets for long range work had to be fired high, describing a long high arc, thus missing all objects on the battlefield between the gun and the object aimed at. A bullet from a modern rifle will fly straight across the field for hundreds of yards with no elevation, even half a mile and more with but little elevation. Sweeping the whole width of the field between the gun and the target.

The deadliness of the modern rifle can be made clear in another way. Says Bloch:

"According to the data of the Prussian General Roon one hundred sharpshooters will put a battery out of action, firing at a distance of 88 yards in the course of two and two-fifths minutes, 1,100 yards in the course of four minutes, 1,650 yards in the course of twenty-two minutes."

"The whole Springfield rifle," says Fitzmorris, "has a range of five miles, the bullet having a velocity of 2,800 feet per second leaving the weapon, or sufficient to drive it thru four and a half feet of white pine."

The "attractiveness" of war increases, of course, with the likelihood that the improving marksmanship of the enemy will increase one's chances for meeting an "attraction." The accuracy of fire is being rapidly improved by tireless target practice in all the great armies of the world. Says Mr. Wright, ex-Secretary of War:

"The results from target practice for the year 1907 and 1908 show that the average battery-hitting capacity has been rapidly increased.... About sixteen times as many hits were made in 1906 from the same gun in a given time at the same range as were made in 1900."

Under no circumstances should the delicate flesh of a business man be exposed to well-aimed bullets fired from a modern rifle. His flesh is, of course, specially sensitive and precious. Moreover, it is wholly unnecessary, because he can buy the flesh of common working class men for bullet stopper very, very cheap, as a substitute. That is a much better arrangement, the big business man thinks,

and, of course, the working men agree with the business men on this matter just as they do on nearly everything else.

The Danish "Rexer" rifle is another instrument ready for use in war and in pacifying hungry people on strike. The "Rexer" weighs only eighteen pounds, uses high-power, small-calibre ammunition, is easily and accurately operated from a hand, portable "rest," can be conveniently carried on horseback, rushed up front for short distances by infantry, can be fired slowly, or, if desired, by simply holding the trigger, 300 times per minute. Equipped with this rifle one full regiment of soldiers or militiamen, each firing only 75 shots per minute, could fire into the ranks of wildly hungry strikers or unemployed one million five hundred thousand prosperity slugs in twenty minutes. With this gun ten militiamen could "quiet" five thousand strikers with twenty-five thousand shots in ten minutes.

With the improved murdering machine called the Maxim gun 700 bullets per minute can be fired, bullets that will kill a man at a range of one and a half miles, bullets that will pacify a striker at a range of two miles. The Gatling gun equipped with an electric motor will discharge 1,800 death-dealing bullets per minute.

"The Gatling gun," says Morris, "...is now, in its perfected form, in use all over the world. This consists of a cluster of rifle-barrels arranged around a central shaft and rotated by a crank. The magazine contains a supply of cartridges, which drop down and are rammed home one after another as the barrels rotate. This, in the later improved forms, is done with such rapidity that he gun can discharge its balls at the rate of 3,000 per minute.... Machine guns were designed for service against bodies of men."

One modern Gatling gun will tear a board fence to pieces a mile away in four minutes, and at a range of one mile it will gnaw off a foot-thick pine post in seven minutes.

Don't enlist till next week.

CONGRESSMEN BOUGHT.

Washington.—Wider powers than any government has ever possessed are asked by the present administration to control food, food speculators, food holders, and food exploiters. Already a cohort of food lobbyists are in Washington asking their bought Congressmen to neglect to pass the necessary legislation.

The food lobby is bigger, richer, more devious and insidious than any lobby that has ever camped in the shadow of the monument. It is the one lobby which reaches straight into the stomachs and the pockets of the poor.

Every ounce of influence and every atom of energy that can be assembled to fight this lobby should be marshaled without delay. Conscription of men is as good as law.

Why not conscription of food? None will be hurt but those who profit out of the lives of the people.

This is a war that the people can join heart and soul.

Stop Prison Speech.

Threatening to revoke the manager's license Mayor Knedler, of Philadelphia, N. J., closed the Tuxedo Theater and prevented a Socialist meeting at which Patrick L. Quinlan was to have spoken on "State's Prison Conditions."

Teas are adulterated with elm, willow leaves.

freedom, is in truth unfit for open discussion? It begins to look as though the State Department fears that if the American people were to be told just what our Allies want they would be even less enthusiastic than they are about the sacrificing their blood and treasure to gain that object.

Lord Robert Cecil told the House of Commons on May 16 that the German colonies in Africa will be retained by Great Britain after the war. "If we have any measure of success," he said, "I should regard with horror the idea of returning natives who have been freed from a government of that kind."

Is this a war for territorial aggrandizement? Are we now making war to transfer German colonies to the British flag?

If this is a war for democracy, should we not begin by allowing those who are to be called upon to give their lives and to take the lives of others, to decide whether the object for which they are called upon to make these sacrifices is worthy the cost?

What are we fighting for? What will be the object we have gained, when peace is declared? Will the abdication of Wilhelm II. satisfy us? Will the election of another German emperor by the states of the German confederation be sufficient? Will a German Republic cause us to call off the dogs of war? Suppose the German Republic is just as insistent on colonies as the German Empire has been? Will we fight on?

Just what will we have when we have enough? What are we fighting for?

The Iron Fist Tightens Its Grip On The Nation

By WM. F. KRUSE.

The powers of reaction, now triumphant in this country, are beginning to tighten their fast forming stranglehold upon the liberties of the American people. From all over the country come reports of the violation of the constitutional guarantees by high-handed petty authorities. There is no more dangerous enemy of freedom than the officious petty satrap.

And there are a lot of them in this country—secret service operatives, police sergeants, district attorneys, and others of that stripe.

The state office of the Socialist Party of Indiana was raided without search warrants being obtained, and Secretary William H. Henry and his wife were arrested and held incommunicado for a long time. Some literature was confiscated and our comrades were released without having any charges preferred against them.

Case Of Aaron Fislernan. In Seattle one of our members was arrested for instigating anti-conscription activity and held on federal charges. It developed that the one charged had nothing to do with the matter and that his name had been used without authorization—presumably with the object of implicating him and the Socialist Party.

In Pittsburgh, Pa., the Federal authorities raided the offices of the Socialist Party and confiscated, without warrant, all of the books and records of that organization. Some of them have been returned, most have not. Eleven members were arrested, everyone in the office, so that none were left to enlist the help of their comrades. They were even refused permission to send word to any of their families. Five were released on \$1,000 bail, the rest on their own recognizance, to appear for trial before the Federal authorities, June 7, two days after registration day.

In Chicago, Ill., a meeting was arranged, in which Socialists participated, to demand that the president immediately state clearly and definitely, the terms on which peace will be made. The Auditorium, largest lecture hall in Chicago, was packed to capacity, 4,000, while 5,000 more were turned away. These constituted themselves an overflow meeting in Grant Park and there assembled to listen to outdoor speakers. The police tried in every way to provoke trouble and failing, they finally ordered the crowd to disperse because no permit had been issued for the outdoor meeting. A dozen patrol wagons and over a hundred policemen appeared on the scene, with the result that nine people were arrested, locked up, transferred from one station to another, and kept from getting out any word to their friends.

Press reports from Cleveland, Ohio, as yet unconfirmed point to widespread outdoor disturbances there when police tried to break up peaceable meetings, with many resultant arrests.

It remained only for Secretary Lansing to place himself in the same category of officious understrappers by refusing to grant passports to the American Socialist Delegates, Morris Hillquit, Algernon Lee, and Victor Berger, to the Peace Conference at Stockholm.

Sticker Campaign Disclosed. Two arrests are thus far reported in connection with a sticker campaign springing up here and there among individuals in different parts of the country. In Chicago, Ill., Abe Brodsky, member of the Socialist Party and of the Y. P. S. L., was arrested on a charge of "disorderly conduct" for sticking up a label bearing this inscription:

WAKE UP, AMERICA! Selective conscription. Compulsory service. Militarism in the schools. Free speech denied. Ditto free assembly. And a free press. Jails for radicals. Prussianism overdone. To hell with the constitution. Machine guns in the police stations. Good-bye 8-hour laws. Farewell, steaks and potatoes. Enter rats, rice and riots. America, wake up.

This same inscription has been printed openly in several papers, both Socialist and Capitalist, and nothing has come of it. Yet when individuals have sought to further spread the message contained in these words they are arrested.

Vipsel Faces Treason Charge. For posting up this same sticker, and in addition uttering bearing these words: "Innocent Wilson," Frederick Superior, 22 years old and the son of a prominent Socialist, Dr. J. H. Superior, of Elizabeth N. J. is facing a Federal charge of Treason. This fact is flaunted across the front pages of the local capitalist dailies and every indication points to the pressing of as serious a charge as the facts will warrant.

Much is made of the fact that the sticker contained the line "To Hell with the Constitution." No one with any grain of intelligence could fail to understand that this merely referred to a quotation now seemingly current in Administration circles. Looking at the unlawful arrests, searches, broken-up meetings, denial of public rights, and other usurpations of which the present administration is guilty, there can be no other motto adopted under which such methods can be classified. The Socialist does not say "To Hell with the Constitution." But the President of the United States, in demanding legislation that is contrary to the very letter and spirit of our fundamental laws, certainly says by implication, if not by words, "To Hell with the Constitution, I and my Party are the Boss."

Socialists are not conscientious law-breakers. We are law-makers. The Socialist Party does not counsel its members and sympathizers to go out to break ordinances and laws relating

AMERICAN SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of the United States.

J. L. ENGBAHL, Editor.

Entered as second-class matter, July 21, 1914, at the post-office at Chicago, Ill., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Published every Saturday by the Socialist Party National Office, 803 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

BUNDLE RATES.—Bundle Rates One Year to one address: 4 copies \$1.50; 8 copies, \$3.00; 10 copies, \$3.50; 25 copies, \$8.00; 50 copies, \$13.75; 100 copies, \$23.00. Bundle Rates of Any Issue: 1,000, \$7.50; 500, \$3.75; 200, \$1.50; 100, 75 cents.

SATURDAY, JUNE 2, 1917.

to posting bills or decorating mail-boxes. But the Socialist Party does insist that at least those in charge of the government of this country shall obey its fundamental laws. The Socialist Party does insist that the right of free speech shall not be interfered with. Nor the right of assembly and petition, and the right to a free, unpuzzled, unprostituted press. If there were ever a time when the people must get information and TRUE information—that time is now. The people of this country must think, and they must speak out their thoughts. And those whom the people have placed in charge of affairs must listen to the voice of the American people and give heed.

There is a decided tendency these days to construe as "treason" everything that does not agree with those in power. Thus it is considered in power to ask the impeachment of the President when the Constitution itself provides that as the only lawful method of removing him from office, and provides further that the people shall have the right at all times to petition for a redress of their wrongs.

Recent history in Russia should serve as an eloquent warning to potential despots in this country. There was no provision for impeaching the Tsar. The people could not lawfully remove him from office. Yet they found the means and methods by which his removal was made possible. In this country there are certain clearly marked legal steps that can be taken to remedy an unwise election of a Chief Executive whenever the American people desire to do so. These steps are set forth in the constitution, and if it be treason to request that these steps be taken by Congress, then there are a good many Americans who are guilty of that crime.

Police Stop Meeting. Police threats to arrest all of the speakers forced the postponement of a meeting planned by Socialists at Providence, R. I., to advocate the repeal of the conscription law.

Comrade Earl Meixell, new literature agent for Local Pexell, Ill., sends in a list of four books and orders 1,000 of the anti-war proclamations.

Coccos are adulterated with starches, arrow root and cocca shells. Silks are adulterated with mercerized cotton and artificial silks are made from cellulose. Such a thing as pure silk is rare, altho supposedly "pure silk" is sold.

"All linen" collars, handkerchiefs, and towels are frequently found all or largely cotton.

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Must We Arm?

GREAT DEBATE

between

Morris Hillquit

Brockway's Defence

EDITOR'S NOTE.—We have just received the accompanying defence issued by Foster Brockway, editor of The Labor Leader (Great Britain) while he was on trial at Chester, England, for refusing to obey a military order. The Canadian government has also brought charges against I. Bainbridge, editor of The Canadian Forward, for circulating this "Defence", claiming it is seditious. Months ago the British government refused permission to The Labor Leader to be circulated outside of Great Britain. Brockway's Defence, which so offended the King's prosecutors, is as follows:

PARLIAMENT has enacted that persons holding my views shall be exempted from the provisions of the Military Service Acts. I am before you, not because I have broken the law, but because the tribunals have not administered the law.

Even if it had been the intention of Parliament to make me a soldier, I should not have become a soldier. No honorable man would consent to participate in an act of murder because the State ordered him to do so. To me war is murder. I cannot participate in it.

(To avoid misunderstanding, I only add that by this I do not mean that in my view every soldier is a murderer. An act must be judged by its motives, and I appreciate fully the spirit of sacrifice and duty which has animated thousands of others.)

I believe all war to be wrong. I believe that mankind is in reality one, and that the universal spirit dwells in all men and unites all men. I believe that human personality is sacred, because it is an expression of the universal spirit. War violates the spiritual amenities of the human race, degrades human personality, and destroys human life. Therefore holding the faith I do, I cannot participate in the war under any circumstances.

Use People As Pawns. But even if I believed war justifiable under certain conditions, I should not participate in the present war. I should not participate in it because I believe the Governments of this and other countries are deluding the peoples as to the objects they have in view, are getting them to lay down their lives by false pretences, and are using them as pawns to fulfill purposes which are often the direct opposite of those they imagine themselves to be serving.

I do not believe that the German Government was solely responsible for the war. I do not believe that any one Government is responsible. I believe that all the Governments of the Great Powers share responsibility for it, and that there is little to differentiate the degree of guilt of one from another.

I believe that the war was caused by the intrigues of financiers of both sides, by the machinations of the armament rings of both sides, by the secret diplomacy of both sides, by the military and naval aggression of both sides.

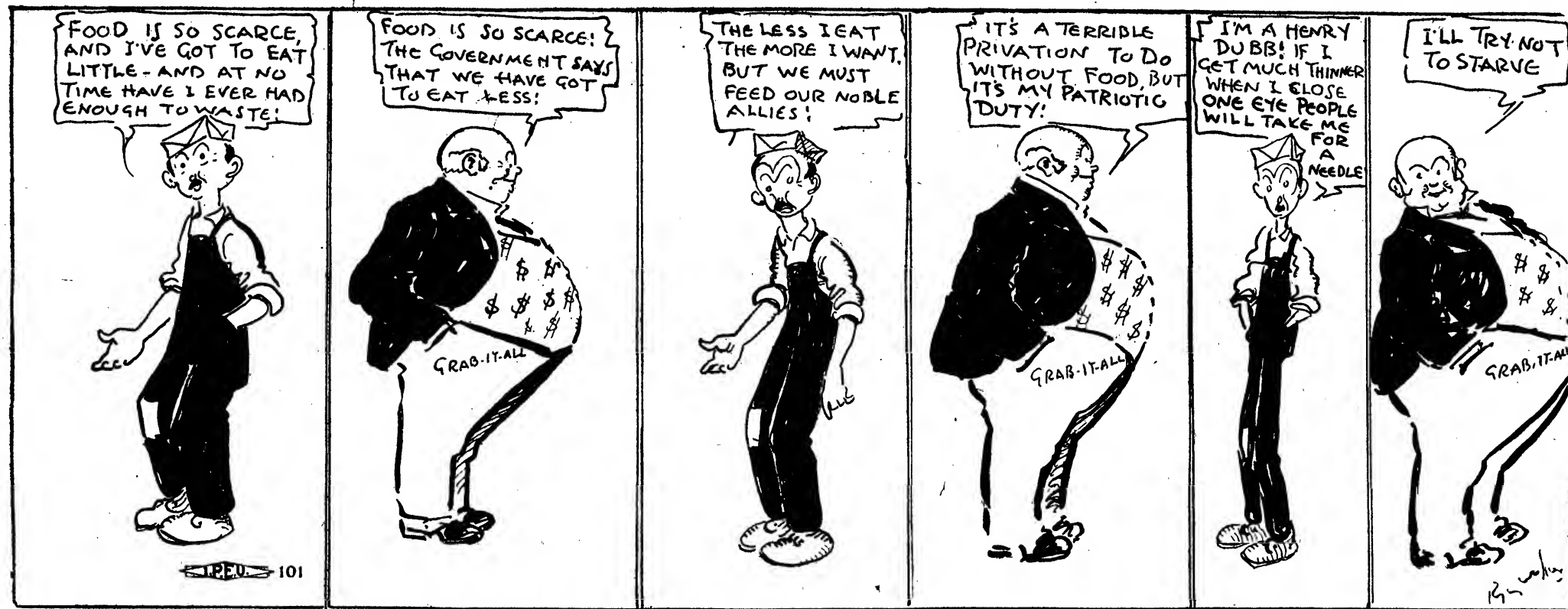
The British Government declared that it entered the war to defend small nationalities. Since when has the British Government become the champion of small nations? The last war the British Government fought—the Boer war—was a war to crush two small Republics; the story of the extension of the British Empire over the face of the earth has been one of an unending series of attacks upon small nations; during the war the British Government has annexed Egypt, violated the independence of Greece, etc.

Impeaches British Intentions. The British Government declared that it entered the war to resist the ambition of Germany for world power. Since when has the British Government become the champion of weaker nations against the imperialism of stronger powers? Before the war began the British flag flew over one-fifth of the territory of the earth. Does that suggest that the British Government was very earnest when it expressed its indignation against the ambition of the German Government?

The British Government declared that it entered the war in defence of France and Belgium, and not to acquire any territory for itself. It has captured practically all the German colonies, and has announced its intention of retaining a great part of them.

The British Government declared that it entered the war to overthrow the menace of German militarism. It

A Study In Food Economy. Grab-it-all Seems To Pull Thru All O. K. But It's Hard On Henry--By RYAN WALKER.



has imposed upon the British people the same accused system of militarism that has degraded Germany.

The British Government declared that it entered the war to enslave in Europe that liberty which is the traditional pride of England. The popular justification of the British intervention in the war was the German invasion of Belgium, but all who are acquainted with the question of foreign policy know that the British Government would have participated in the war whether Belgium had been invaded or not. The Government policy since '04, a policy carried out in secret, had bound us to France and Russia; and, whatever the cause of war, once France and Russia became involved the intervention of the British Government became inevitable.

Europe was divided into two hostile groups of nations, and whilst I do not deny or desire to diminish the aggressive designs of Germany and the Triple Alliance, particularly since '11, anyone who suggests that Germany alone actively prepared for war on a big scale is simply revealing his ignorance. The fact is that during the decade 1905-14 Austria and Germany expended \$1,585,000,000 on military and naval preparations, whilst Russia and France expended \$1,477,000,000 of sterling (\$5,738,000,000). If we add the expenditure of Great Britain, the total of the Triple Entente becomes \$1,800,000,000 of sterling (\$9,000,000,000).

If the purposes of the British Government in entering the war was really to secure the liberation of Belgium, the evacuation of France, and the destruction of the menace of German

Bonding The People

By G. W. KLEIHEGE.

Since Congress has declared war it has issued a war budget of \$7,000,000,000 of which \$5,000,000,000 are to be raised thru the issuance of bonds and \$2,000,000,000 thru the issuance of treasury certificates not to run over one year. \$3,000,000,000 of these bonds are to be credited to the allies. In reality it means that we are going to bond ourselves to Morgan and the big business autocrats of this country to insure payment for the commodities which they are going to send to the allies.

The United States will be virtually "cleaned out" of everything in the way of food and supplies and be enormously in debt to our business autocrats for all this. Of course stuff that is not yet produced cannot be used. Children born tomorrow cannot be drafted in the service of those living today. Morgan and his ilk living today may be dead when the people are compelled to pay this war debt, but his children and the children of his class will not be dead. They will then reap the rich harvest of leisure and luxury from this war, while the children of the worker who are now working to produce for and fight in the war will have to continue their groans and labors, and on as long as this bond is hung about their necks.

The money men of the land for the benefit of themselves and their children are heaping burden upon burden on the people and will continue that just as long as the people will allow them to do so. Of course they are fooling the people about the matter somewhat but not so much but what they can easily see the injustice of it all. They will either have to rouse or suffer to the end of time.

It means practically, that the banks have to get to place their whole assets at the government's disposal. It means that if we don't, the government will take them.

"Do you know what it costs to fire one of the big guns once on the battle line? I'll tell you. It is the equivalent of fifty \$100 liberty bonds, and it means you have got to sell fifty of those bonds for every time the gun is fired."

"The trouble with us people of the United States is that we have not yet been hit hard enough—that's what's the matter with us. That is why we have not yet rushed up to subscribe and oversubscribe this two billion dollar loan. Wait until the first American ship carrying our American troops to Europe is torpedoed and sunk. Wait until Germany begins to hit us hard."

Dare Not Wait. "But we must not wait. We do not dare wait. The country must act now, and it is your business to do your part to make it act by buying your liberty bonds. It is not a question of dollars to be invested, but of victory to be won."

"If the war lasts two years, that

Bonds and Bondage.

By ADOLPH GERMER.

Under the high sounding name of "Liberty Loan" the people are to be plucked for the immediately necessary funds to carry out the international slaughter. Thousands of agents are turned loose with these "Liberty Bonds" to induce the whole nation to come across with whatever amount has escaped the food hogs and furnish the long green, so the killing will be thoroughly successful.

Necessity is again the mother of invention. On account of the world war being so unpopular there existed a grave danger in every country, that the people after the killing is over, would repudiate the war debts. If the moneyed crowd holds the bonds, and the people are milked for the interest on them, they would be highly in disfavor and the people who are bled white by skyrocket food prices, might kick over the traces and tell the war bond holders to get out and stay put. This likelihood is to be overcome by the bonds of small denominations, which are to be sold to the workers who are permitted to stay at home and continue to grind out the incomes for the profit mongers. And don't think that we are the only people who are played for that kind of suckers. Similar games are played by other governments including Kaiserdom.

The word "suckers" may offend the tender sensibilities of those outside of Illinois, but let us see if there is any reason for it.

Always The People.

Who stands behind these bonds? The people. Who is asked to buy these bonds? The people. Who will redeem the bonds on maturity? The people. In other words, the people buy their own bonds and pay themselves interest on them and redeem these bonds from themselves, on maturity. In addition to this, the people pay commission to banks to handle them and employ agents to sell the people's bonds to the people.

But, there is another feature to these bonds. When one invests in the "Liberty Loan" it is safe to assume that such a person will not favor repudiating the war debts. If he does, he will be repudiating his own investment. A person who buys war bonds extends a credit to the government to expedite the war and becomes bound, hand and foot, to a program that will fasten a staggering burden upon the people for decades.

This is aside from the awful price that is paid in human suffering. And yet they have the effrontery to call them "Liberty Bonds."

Nor are you to be given your choice about investing in "Liberty." If you should not happen to feel inclined to invest in the kind of liberty that is on the program, you are to be "knocked down." Here is a bit of interesting news from a Chicago paper that might well serve as an inducement to become a ready "liberty" purchaser.

"If a man refuses to buy a Liberty Bond from you, I say knock him down."

This advice was given to bond salesman by Charles G. Dawes, president of the Central Trust Company of Illinois, at a meeting of the Illinois Trust and Savings Bank. How do you like the manner in which you are to get "liberty"? But this is not all. Mr. Dawes said further:

"Do you bond men realize what ten billions of dollars means—the sum that must be raised by the government for the prosecution of the first year of the war?"

Must Place All Assets. "It means practically, that the banks have to get to place their whole assets at the government's disposal. It means that if we don't, the government will take them."

"Do you know what it costs to fire one of the big guns once on the battle line? I'll tell you. It is the equivalent of fifty \$100 liberty bonds, and it means you have got to sell fifty of those bonds for every time the gun is fired."

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"If the war lasts two years, that

means the government must raise not less than \$20,000,000,000 to finance it."

With this spirit prevailing, do you think there is any possibility of this country's failing to saddle democracy and liberty on the world?

W. A. Heath, chairman of the board of directors of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, followed Mr. Dawes and he is reported to have relieved himself of the following impressive words:

"Pound it in that patriotism is the ground you are standing on, and they have got to stand alongside of you."

Make Him Buy Them.

"I am a minister's son and was taught along the lines of peace, but I want to tell you bond men that the gospel I have just heard is the best gospel I have ever listened to. You men go out into the country and give them hell. The farmer is the richest man in the country today, and this war is bound to make him richer. Don't ask him to buy liberty bonds—make him buy them."

Oh, Liberty, Democracy, the growing aspirations of the poets and philosophers, the dream of the ages, what crimes are committed in thy name! What monsters of iniquity hide their sullied hands behind their banners! In thy name, a servile congress under the lash of an executive autocrat, who won his election under the slogan "He kept us out of war" permits the mercenary interests to reach out their crimsoned tentacles and snatch from the homes of this country, the young men who are the buds of life and hurl them into the jaws of hell. In thy name, every human impulse is crushed, man is transformed into a brutal beast and sent out on the field of slaughter to send a bullet or a bayonet thru the heart of a fellow being. And to do this on the largest possible scale and with the greatest effect, every government, now a part of the mad house is fettering its people with a war bondage for generations to come.

Let me re-emphasize the purpose in selling these euphoniously titled bonds to the common people is to safeguard against a repudiation of the staggering debt heaped upon this nation by the hideous infamy of war.

Lesson For All Workers.

May this serve as a valuable lesson to the workers of all nations. If the governments can issue bonds for war purposes, we shall insist that the government also issue bonds to create the necessary funds to acquire and carry on industry. This is especially desirable in times of war when profit hogs are gambling in the necessities of life and are plundering the consumer, "because they can get it."

These bonds are not for "liberty" but for bondage. We have a right to disbelieve you gentlemen of the administration. You were elected on the slogan "He kept us out of war" and the people not wanting war, you forced us into it.

You told and still tell us of your great love for "democracy" but did you when you passed your infamous and un-American conscription law? you in any way practice that principle you tell us of your great concern for the welfare of the people but what have you done to relieve the pressure from constantly increasing prices of food stuffs? We realize that our only hope lies in ourselves and in keeping with that, we shall rally the workers of the country into one organization, the Socialist Party, which is dedicated to true democracy.

WE HURL IT INTO YOUR TEETH THAT—

"Ye have stolen my land and my cattle; Ye have kept back from labor its meed; Ye have challenged the outcast to battle, When they plead at your feet in their need; And when clamors of hunger grow louder, And the multitude prayed to be fed, You have answered with prison and powder The cries of your brother for bread."

I turn from your altars and arches, And the mocking of steeples and domes, To join in the long war marches Of those who have robbed of their homes.

The Thrones of your kings shall be shattered And the prisoners and serfs shall go free; I will harvest the seed that I scattered On the borders of blue Galilee.

Rush in your orders for the four-page leaflet containing the Socialist Party Manifesto and War Program adopted at St. Louis, Mo. Price: \$1.50 per 1,000. Send all orders to National Office, Socialist Party, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Almost all coffee contains chicory. Imitation coffee beans are colored with Venetian red and burnt umber. Low grade coffee beans are varnished with chromé yellow—a poison—and with a mixture of eggs preserved in formaldehyde.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S DEPT.

Organization—Education—Solidarity.

WILLIAM Z. KRUSE - - - Director

To reach the nation's youth with the message of Socialism and to bring them into the organized Socialist movement through Young People's Socialist Leagues.

Address all communications to: Socialist Party Young People's Dept., 803 W. Madison St., Chicago.

National Championship May 1, 1917.

First Division.

1—Omaha, Nebraska	78 points
2—Trenton, N. J.	70 "
3—Buffalo, N. Y.	66 "
4—Toledo, Ohio	59 1/2 "
5—Hartford, Conn.	59 1/2 "
6—Rochester, N. Y.	59 "
7—Watertown, N. Y.	57 1/2 "
8—Cincinnati, N. O.	56 1/2 "
9—St. Louis, Mo.	55 "
10—Northwest Chicago	54 1/2 "
11—New Britain, Conn.	50 1/2 "
12—Newark, N. J.	49 1/2 "
13—Reading, Pa.	49 1/2 "
14—Cleveland, N. J.	49 "
15—Jamestown, N. Y.	48 "
16—Centralwest Chicago	47 1/2 "
17—Terre Haute, Ind.	46 1/2 "
18—New Haven, Conn.	46 "
19—Brooklyn, N. Y.	45 "
20—Queens County No. 2	40 "
21—Lawrence, Mass.	39 1/2 "

Second Division.

21—Cleveland, O.	38 1/2 "
22—Washington, D. C.	38 1/2 "
23—Providence, R. I.	35 "
24—Bronx, N. Y.	32 1/2 "
25—Denver, Colo.	27 1/2 "
26—Amia, Conn.	25 1/2 "
27—Troy, N. Y.	25 "
28—Milwaukee, Wis.	24 "
29—St. Paul, Minn.	23 1/2 "
30—Decatur, Ill.	23 "
31—Washington, D. C., Jewish	23 "
32—Lafayette, Ind.	23 "
33—Cincinnati, N. O., Jewish	22 1/2 "
34—Fellowship, Chicago	22 "
35—Dayton, O.	21 1/2 "
36—San Francisco, Cal.	20 1/2 "
37—Wilkes Barre, Pa.	20 "
38—McKeesport, Pa.	18 1/2 "
39—Cincinnati, N. O., Jewish	18 1/2 "
40—St. Louis, Mo.	17 1/2 "
41—Bridgeport, Conn.	10 "
42—Richmond, Ind.	9 1/2 "
43—Lynn, Mass.	6 1/2 "
44—Kokomo, Ind.	6 "
45—Friendship, Chicago	3 1/2 "
46—Boston, Mass.	3 1/2 "
47—Brookton, Mass.	2 "
48—Philadelphia, Pa., S. S.	1 "

Quarterly Membership Increase Contest.

First Prize 10 points

New Britain, Conn., 22 new members

Second Prize, 7 points

Trenton, N. J., 19 new members

Third Prize, 4 points

Reading, Pa., 17 new members

Per Capita Increase.

First Prize 10 points

Reading, Pa., .81 per cent increase.

Second Prize, 7 points

Watertown, N. Y., .70 per cent increase

Third Prize, 4 points

Syracuse, N. Y., .48 per cent increase

COLLEGE SOCIALISTS

DEFINE WAR STAND

In order to do away with any misunderstanding concerning the Inter-collegiate Socialist Society stand in the present crisis, the Executive Committee recently passed the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That in conformity with the policy of this Society since its foundation, the Executive Committee desire to announce to all interested that the Society's sole function is to promote an intelligent interest in Socialism, and that it therefore does not consider it consistent with the Society's objects for the Committee to take a stand either for or against war or for or against any position that is in controversy within the Socialist Party; and therefore neither the Society nor the Committee should be held in any way responsible for the personal views of its members on either side of any such issue or controversy.

The exact nature of the work of the I. S. S. during the coming season will depend largely on the numbers of students remaining in the colleges following the conscription draft. Indications are, however, that in most colleges very effective work can be done. The speakers of the I. S. S. will next season deal as formally in their college lectures with the fundamentals of Socialism and will also endeavor to point out the constructive Socialist lessons from the war. On this phase of Socialism there is now a tremendous interest, among college men and women. When called upon, the lecturers will endeavor to explain, as impartially as possible, the attitude of the various schools of Socialists toward the present conflict.

An important departure in the work of the I. S. S. during the coming year will be a more definite attempt than has been made heretofore to schedule its lectures before high school audiences, wherever such scheduling does not interfere with lectures in the colleges. The lectures of a number of the I. S. S. speakers this year in high school auditoriums before the student body have met with a most cordial response. No endeavor, however, will be made to organize the high school students into I. S. S. chapters.

The War Program

By JAMES ONEAL.

The agitation of the "social patriots" against the majority resolution on war, which culminated in the astonishing Gaylord-Simons episode, will probably make it impossible to get an intelligent vote on the war program. The attempt to influence the party members against the majority report by inviting government espionage and terrorism will probably intimidate some comrades into voting in favor of the minority report. Some others who are sincerely in favor of the minority report, but resenting this terrorism, may vote in favor of the majority report as a protest against the methods of the "war patriots." In either case the vote, whatever the result, will not be an expression of the party, unless the majority is a very large one.

The "war patriots" who have had free access to the capitalist press are probably less than a dozen; due to their success in enlisting this press against the party as "pro-German", they are the first group in the history of the party that ever attempted to use the powers of capitalist society against the party. That men of this type are against the majority report should be sufficient to guide the members on how to vote.

The following incident will interest those members who fear that the majority report is "treason" and that to support it would be to subject them to prosecution. A comrade in the Charleston navy yard who distributed the majority report as a leaflet was discharged. The officer in charge consulted the department of justice with the view of having the offender prosecuted. The department informed the officer that this comrade could not be prosecuted under the laws. This is a sufficient answer to the alarmist cries of our "war patriots" and the informers who have tried to invoke terrorism to carry the vote against the majority report.

For The Minority Report

Just a few words in behalf of the minority report:

It is a recognition of the fact that war is upon us, and all which that implies. It is a concrete expression of a conviction that the proper statement of Socialist war policy should be practical as well as theoretical, and that it should embody proposals that have some chance of being carried out—now, or in the near future. It does not imply even toleration for the war. By no means should it be construed as being friendly to the war. Outside of Comrades Spargo, Carr, and a few others, the advocates of the minority report are opposed to the war and are emphatically expressing their opposition by tongue and pen.

The advocates of the majority report are not strengthening their side by trying to create the opposite impression and branding as "cowards" and "jingoes" all who disagree with them.

It is all right to theorize. It is all right to say what should be done. It is all right to try to bring about what should be done. It is also all right, and the part of wisdom, to recognize human limitations, to see and appreciate difficulties that confront one, and to act accordingly. The Socialist Party is in a hopeless minority. It is almost without funds. It must combat the prejudices of the very class for whose freedom it is organized. Arrayed against it, on the other hand, is the United States Government, with almost unlimited funds and the backing of a great army and navy and millions of working people. A more assinine performance could hardly be imagined than throwing the American Socialist movement into active and violent opposition to such a combination.

Let none misunderstand. Very few of us who favor the minority report have any great objection to the "crime" of treason implied in such opposition. We know that treason to constituted authority is frequently loyalty to liberty and humanity. We have nothing but contempt for "law and order" that is made to shield from molestation the rule of an arrogant plutocracy. We admit that a cell in a Federal prison is much more desirable than a place in the trenches. But we want to avoid both if possible. We want the Socialist Party to live. We want to see in our own time the dawning day of the co-operative commonwealth.

Hence our position.—By EDMUND R. BRUMBAUGH, Omaha, Neb.

In dyeing, silks are weighted with sugar, starch, and tin chloride, increasing the weight as much as 150 per cent. Silk fabrics have been found that were over 70 per cent tin.

This Is Worth Fighting For

More and more the masses of people opposed to the war come trooping into the Socialist movement. The American Socialist is doing its best in this crisis, with your help. Read this letter and be convinced. It is from Oscar Diehl, of 2350 Wheeler St., Cincinnati, Ohio, and is only a sample of the many of the same kind received daily. Here it is:

"I wish to congratulate you on your splendid publication, The American Socialist, which has been sent me by some kind friend, I presume. This very paper has convinced me that Socialism is the only policy of justice, equity, truth and frankness, and from this day on I will become a Socialist in every way, and use my influence in this direction."

"Kindly send me about a dozen copies of the petitions to be sent to congress requesting the Selective Draft Law to be put to a referendum vote. I'll use these to the best advantage, I assure you. Also send me one copy of the book of the hour entitled, 'What's So And What Isn't.' "When your paper was first sent me some six months ago, I was so narrow-minded as to discard it without even reading the big headlines. But, thank God, this prejudice has left me and I have been given the common sense to see what is good for Christianity and all mankind, namely, Socialism. Since this paper has come to our home it has interested my brothers also and they are about ready to throw off the shackles of prejudice, ignorance and narrowmindedness. Your paper is never destroyed at our home any more. After being read by the family they are saved or else passed along to other intelligent and cultured people. Socialism is the Twentieth Century Religion!"

From The Firing Line!

"Every member of the party should be proud of The American Socialist," writes Comrade R. D. Egan, of Jackson, Tenn. "I am with you."

"I saw a copy of your paper and found much to commend it," writes John Kennedy, of Pittsfield, Maine, subscribers.

"Anyone calling himself a Socialist who fails to boost The American Socialist is a poor Socialist," volunteers Comrade T. J. Brown, of Denver, Colo.

"I am a member of the Sec. of Kentucky, sends in the names of the 11 charter members of Local Murray, Ky., as subscribers to their paper."

"William Patrick, a republican justice of the peace at Gossel, Kans., sends in a list of 20 subs. Some of the choice editors of the local press, who would be good. While not a member of the party myself, I have been advocating Socialism for two years, and voted the ticket in the last election. I would like the peace on the republican ticket here. I read the exposure of conditions among the troops in the trenches and I would like to see 200 papers among them. These papers are still going. I am working hard for Socialism now. I will not support a man on the democratic or republican ticket, not even my own brother, because I would then be supporting the enemy of the people."

Comrade H. Plessenburg, one of our live ones at Covington, Ky., has been elected to the Post and Shoe Workers' Convention.

A sympathizer at Atlanta, Ga., subscribes and says the people in the south are so fed up with the war that they could only find one jingo on a crowded street car one morning. "The soldiers have been without food for three days and are here," he writes. "No blood thirsty Germans showed up so the danger is over."

Comrade J. G. Gents, of Chicago, sends in a list of 12 who will protest against the attempt to suppress free speech.

Comrade J. C. Kittleson, of Minneapolis, Minn., does not believe in war and he sends in a list of 21 subs to back up his belief.

Comrade Martin Anderson, also of Minneapolis, Minn., believes in educating rather than slaughtering the working class so he sends in a list of 10 subs.

Comrade A. E. Tilton, of Holdenville, Okla., helps uphold the cause of a free press by sending in 13 annual subs. "I have missed the paper a great deal, but I have not been able to subscribe until this fall," he writes. "I have read a copy of your valuable paper recently and find there is more truth in it than in any newspaper I have read for some time."

"I have read a copy of your paper and I have taken a liking to it because it tells the truth," writes a well wisher at Burlington, Iowa, who sends in a list of his friends whom he wants converted. "We'll start in by sending in the same number of subs."

"These war days are opening the eyes of the sheep," writes Comrade Albert A. Achel, of Helig, D. annual subs. "Some people tell me your paper has been discontinued. I would like to hear from you," writes R. F. Mackman of Attika, Mich. No. 12, who writes, "If the paper is discontinued we will make so much noise you will all hear from us."

"G. H. Gilford, of Ohio, sends in a club of four to help battle the war monster. Comrade Frank L. Springer, of Aberdeen, S. D., sends in a list of eight to down war and promote peace."

Do You Want An Education?

"This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it".—From Abraham Lincoln's First Inaugural Address.

World's Hope For Peace Turns To Stockholm Socialist Conference

SOcialism the hope of the world! This was never more true than it is today and all mankind is beginning to realize it. From all the corners of the earth, the eyes of men and women, filled with an overwhelming longing for peace, are turning toward Stockholm, Sweden, where the Socialists of many lands are gathering for the greatest peace conference the world has ever seen.

Anxious hopes for the success of this great gathering are finding a voice everywhere. The Socialist Party of the United States had intended to send as its delegates Victor L. Berger and Algonern Lee, while Morris Hillquit was to go as the party's international secretary.

The state department at Washington, as told on page one, has denied passports to our delegates, and they will not therefore be present.

THE STOCKHOLM Conference was called largely in response to a request by the American Socialist Party that a gathering of the International Socialist forces be summoned for some time in June. The present conference was called by the International Socialist Bureau for May 15, but it was postponed for a month when it was found that the American delegates, as well as those from other countries, could not arrive in time.

In the meantime, however, Camille Huysmans, secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, has opened headquarters in Stockholm, at the headquarters of the Swedish Socialist Party, and created a committee consisting of three Dutch delegates headed by Peter Troelstra, three Swedes, one Norwegian and one Dane, Hjalmar Branting, spokesman of the Swedish Socialist Party, is chairman of the committee.

RIGHT here let us kill and bury the lie that this is a pro-German conference inspired by the Kaiser. This conference, like all other Socialist gatherings, has no secrets and will have none. All is open and above board.

True, the jingo press of Great Britain has interpreted the bureau committee meetings already held as melodramatic intrigues against the reigning dynasties of the world. This highly colored jingo literature has been reprinted extensively by the unscrupulous press of this country. The double attack, by the world's capitalist press, on the Socialist movement, has consisted during the past few weeks in alternately seeking to belittle the Socialist efforts in Russia, and in attempting to discredit the Stockholm conference. The capitalist class no doubt reads its own doom in the story of these two great facts—the Socialist control of Russia and the Socialist control over the world's peace efforts.

Lacking in all other argument, the press of the master class charges the Stockholm conference with being pro-German because the Kaiser has been forced to permit German Socialists to attend it. With equal reason this conference may be said to be "pro" every other country that will have delegates in attendance.

This conference will be the result of many anxious efforts that have been made, ever since the war started nearly three years ago, to rally the forces of International Socialism. It will blot out the lie that the Socialist International is dead.

ACCORDING to cable reports "conversations" are already being held at the International Socialist Bureau's Stockholm headquarters.

Delegates from various nations, already on the ground, come in, give the views of the Socialists in their respective nations, listen to the bureau committee's exposition and to other Socialist delegates.

Thus in time each group knows what is in the others' minds and it is hoped that some course may presently appear to be acceptable to all by which this war may be materially shortened and all future wars abolished.

There is no basis for the capitalist press falsehood that the Russian Socialists are secretly negotiating for a separate peace with the Kaiser. Only a flagrant entente program of annexation and conquest would lead to that end. The Russian Socialists stick to their program of no annexations, no indemnities and a general peace. Since the Socialists in Russia are stronger than in any other entente country, they will no doubt take the initiative, on behalf of their own allies, in the negotiations with the Socialists of Central Europe.

DELEGATIONS from many countries have already taken part in the "conversations" held at Stockholm. There are the Austrians, Hungarians, Bosnians and Bulgarians with no Turks expected. Germany will send a delegation of 11 or 12 members, five belonging to the majority and five to the minority, with one or two others. The majority delegates will be headed by Herr Scheidemann and Herr Ebert, joint chairmen of the majority party. The minority party will have Haase, Bernstein, Kautsky and Hoffman. There will be one or two trade unionists, including their secretary, Karl Legien. The Finnish delegates have arrived and the Russians are on the way.

If the British government will grant them passports, delegates will attend representing the British Socialist Party and Independent Labor Party, although the Labor Party, ally of the government, has refused to send delegates. The French Socialist Party has planned a meeting to reconcile its international discussions enough to send a delegation selected by both the majority and the minority, but representing the party as a whole. Belgium is represented by Emile Vandervelde, who has already given his views to the Stockholm committee.

DIRECTOR Alvin Hanson, of the Swedish Socialist daily, Social Demokraten, seeks to explain why Germany is allowing Socialists to attend the Stockholm conference.

"The present form of the German government will have to go," declares Hanson. "Perhaps the Socialists, with hunger as a powerful ally, will be able to force a change without resorting to violence. The German government is wide awake and must realize that its days are numbered. That is why it is letting a big Socialist delegation come to Stockholm."

THAT President Wilson's "war for democracy" will not be misunderstood at this international gathering is shown by a statement made by Editor Ture Nerman, of the minority Swedish Socialists. He declares:

"America is an extremely capitalist country. The big industries hire and arm ruffians to shoot down their laborers when there are disputes. "America did not come into the war for ethical aims. It came because the capitalists had begun to fear for their investments in the entente countries. The American government is capitalist and capitalist rules it. The people must rule!"

OUT OF the horror, the sorrow, the suffering of this world slaughter, the Socialist International is rising stronger and more powerful than ever. It has already shown itself to be the only power able to wipe out the differences that now exist between

the agonizing nations of the world. If it needs a social revolution to wipe out these differences, then the social revolution will come.

The world is watching the International Socialist Conference at Stockholm, Sweden, the most important gathering of its kind ever held since history began. LONG LIVE THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL!

If more would read fewer would bleed.

Every day is registration day for new readers to The American Socialist.

Show your opposition to conscription by volunteering to get subscribers for The American Socialist.

One way of showing your opposition to conscription is by getting a list of subs for The American Socialist.

If you are opposed to a censorship of the press show it by sending in a bunch of subs to The American Socialist.

President Wilson is still fighting for a censorship of the nation's press, says one of the day's headlines. We are still fighting against it.

The eight hour bill for women was killed in the Illinois legislature because big business wants to exploit women to the limit during the war.

The San Francisco Bulletin reports that potatoes are rotting in the warehouses of that city while the price is still beyond reach of the ordinary pocket book. How do you like it?

500,000 soldiers to Europe before the leaves begin to fall, is the aim of our government. 500,000 subscribers to The American Socialist before the snow flies, is our aim. Help us realize it.

To take democracy to Prussia, we must Prussianize democratic America. If it were not a tragedy, what a fine farce it would be!—Mrs. Cary E. Norris, Zanesville, Ohio.

The Kaisers of American industry are hoping the slaughter of American soldiers will soon begin in Europe so that the American workers will have less time to think of the brazen attack on their liberties in San Francisco.

The senate finance committee is trying to cut down the house war tax bill amounting to \$1,800,000,000. It proposes that the difference be raised by selling bonds. But suppose the people won't buy the bonds. And then suppose they won't pay the taxes.

Wilson might give Pershing and those 23,000 soldiers, soon destined for the killing beds of France, a little preliminary training by sending them against the Prussians in the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce still trying to railroad labor to the gallows.

In Russia they used to say: "The Czar can do no wrong." It was tried once too often and now the Czar is out of a job. In free America the Attorney General gave out the order: "Obey the Law, and keep your mouth shut." Woodrow Wilson ought to have sense enough to profit by European history.

It's pretty safe rule that the workers should be aware of the leader whom the master class honors. Let us note in passing that the government is paying the expenses of Charles Edward Russell on his trip to Russia, but refuses to give passports and threatens to jail the delegates of the Socialist Party to the Stockholm Conference.

"There is only one thing which will be asked of the people of the United States from now on," says The Chicago Tribune. "THAT IS SUBMISSION." The big business robbers, for whom The Tribune is spokesman, have always asked submission on the part of the people. This war is destined to bring the same change, however, in this country, that it brought to Russia.

In Hennessy, Okla., a farmer and democratic office holder walked into the office of the Socialist local, took a \$10 bill out of his pocket, handed it to the secretary and said: "Here is my fine. I voted for Woodrow Wilson last fall because he kept us out of war. I shall vote the Socialist ticket after this, but I deserve some punishment."

Junius Spencer Morgan, son of J. Pierpont Morgan, czar of all America, has joined the naval reserve as ensign. He is assigned to duty at Newport, R. I. The society columns announce that the summer social season of the parasite "400" soon opens at Newport and young Morgan will arrive just in time to take part in the monkey dinners; far from the blood drenched fields of France. "On to Newport!" is the war cry of the scions of Wall Street's nobility.

"Still Catching Villa" Pershing, who is to head the first American expedition of 25,000 victims to the European slaughter pen, is reported as declaring that he doesn't want any newspaper men along with him. Perhaps one of the newspaper men might turn out to be another Dr. Flexner with another exposure of the rotten moral conditions that prevailed in the army camps along the Rio Grande. It is rank cowardice for a brave soldier to be afraid of a few newspapermen if he has nothing to hide.

"I have got to hear a soldier say that he did not hate the war," writes the son of a Chicago college professor, who is an aviator on the French front. "I hate it with my whole soul," is his confession, "but that he has had a taste of it, also when he enlisted for the ambulance corps months ago he thought it was going to be great sport. He concludes that, 'War is a grand drama for statesmen, journalists and kings, but a hell of mud and blood for the millions who provide the spectacle.'"

Charles R. Crane, one of Wilson's appointees to the U. S. commission to Russia, cables to The Chicago Herald that he fears for the Russian army because it has lost most of its old symbols, such as the emperor, the flag, the national hymn and even the cross. Fear not, Mr. American Millionaire, the Russian soldiers have the red flag of world brotherhood, and "The Internationale," the song of the exploited of the earth. Hasten the day when the soldiers in the other European armies will have as much.

The American Union Against Militarism has come to the conclusion that the "conscientious objector" should register, formally claiming exemption from the registration blank on the grounds that his conscience will not permit him to kill even for the state. Some of the members of the executive committee refused to sign the joint statement, containing this conclusion, on the ground that older men and women had no right to press those confronted with the draft into any course of conduct. It seems to be getting popular for those who have solutions for every other problem in the world to side-step giving our youth advice on the question of registration.

Patriotism And Gasoline

We reproduce herewith a corner from a daily newspaper. As you see it contains two small news items. These two paragraphs, however, emanating from New York City, the capital city of capitalism, are loaded with great interest. Here are the paragraphs:

Rockefeller to Take \$100,000,000 of Loan
NEW YORK, May 23.—John D. Rockefeller is reported to be aiming to take \$100,000,000 of the Liberty loan. He is buying in small amounts because of the criticism that may crop up that he is trying to evade taxes.

Gasoline Price Is Advanced 2 Cents
NEW YORK, May 23.—The Standard Oil Company of New York today announced an advance of 2 cents a gallon on gasoline.

Rockefeller is a patriot—that's why he subscribes \$100,000,000 to the Liberty Loan. That is what the editorials in the jingo press claim. Yet the second paragraph gives the lie to that claim. Would a real patriot rob the nation of two cents more on every gallon of gasoline when, according to recent government investigations, the Standard Oil Co. is taking a robber's toll out of the gasoline business at the present time.

We have another theory. Realizing more and more that this is not a people's war, and that popular clamor will soon force it to levy the cost of war on the rich, congress is already doing fairly well in levying income taxes, excess profits taxes and inheritance taxes. If this war lasts three or five years, popular clamor may force the confiscation of all incomes over \$3,000 or \$5,000. That is what the Socialist Party demands now.

Well, where would that leave Rockefeller, with all his gasoline patriotism, if he had all of his money in the oil business. It would leave him where the government could continually dip into his pockets for some of the cost of this war. But get this point: YOU CANNOT TAX THE INCOME FOR WAR BONDS! Therefore, when Rockefeller buys \$100,000,000 worth of war bonds he is just playing safe with the present discontent in our social system. He gets 3 1/2 per cent interest, or \$3,500,000 on that investment each year, not to mention the free applause in the jingo press.

He can spend \$500,000 of that each year to meet the high cost of living during the war and still have \$3,000,000 to reinvest in more war bonds. But do you think "John D." is satisfied. Not this John. In order to get a few millions more to invest in "The Liberty Loan", John puts a little war tax of his own on gasoline, two cents a gallon, so that every time he sells 50,000,000 gallons of gasoline he can invest another million in non-taxable war bonds. GREAT SYSTEM! He doesn't even have to ask congress for permission to do it.

But there is one chance for the people left. They can repudiate the bonds. That is what the peoples of Europe are planning to do with their war bonds. Or, recognizing that "John D." is getting rather old, we might allow him to fondle those bonds for the remainder of his days. Then we could take them all back again, after he has passed away, thru the enforcement of a confiscatory inheritance tax. Then poor "John D. Jr." would have to go to work.

Which goes to show that no matter how safe our plutocrats think they and their fortunes are, there is always a way to get them in the end.

Restating His Position

President Wilson has felt called upon to restate his reasons for forcing the nation into the war. He declares that, "No nation that respects itself or the rights of humanity could have borne those wrongs any longer," referring to the wrongs inflicted by Germany.

He fails to mention anything, or to offer any remedy for the wrongs inflicted by the brutal exploiters of the United States upon the nation. Nor does he show why we should have any respect for those who are allowing the food gamblers to shove up the high cost of living and rob us to the point of starvation. Nor does he show where the rights of humanity were respected in any labor struggle since he entered office on March 4, 1913. Nor does he offer any excuse why the masses of the people should bear these wrongs any longer.

The working class has no reason for restating its stand against the Huns of Wall Street, who are using the conditions forced upon us by the present war to Prussianize cherished American institutions. We can only hope that when European Prussianism is overthrown, Wall Street will suffer a like fate.

Save The Republic

One of the many letters being received by the editor daily on the enforcement of the conscription law reads:

"As I feel pretty blue and heart sick this morning I will write you a few lines. The draft law has now become a fact. I have two sons and several grandsons that will be subject to the call to go and kill innocent boys and help to make widows and orphans and destroy homes in the interests of Big Business."

"Liberty has at last taken wings and flown to parts unknown. Oh, for 10,000 Websters and Patrick Henrys to save our republic and bring freedom back to America."

"It is terrible to think that millions must be murdered to open the eyes of others to the cause of this wholesale murder business."

"May the time soon come that the tears of widows and orphans, and aged mothers and fathers will melt the gizzards of the War Lords, and that they will have to get down on their knees and beg for mercy from an outraged world. Yours in sorrow, Alex Van Gundy, Cheyenne, Wyo."

This letter speaks for itself. It needs no comment.

Dismissed?

One of the first attacks on the conscription law was launched when the 13th amendment to the federal constitution, prohibiting involuntary servitude, was invoked in the San Francisco courts to relieve Ferdinand Claudius, of Oakland, from military registration.

Peace without annexations or indemnities, is the demand of the Russian working class, echoed round the world.

If you are in favor of the right of free assemblage show it by getting subs for your paper, thus aiding it in its fight for this right.

Get all your fellow workers reading about the International Socialist Conference at Stockholm in The American Socialist.

If you are opposed to the suppression of free speech show it by getting your friend to subscribe for The American Socialist.

Money secured thru the Liberty Loan will be invested in wholesale bloodshed and draw dividends in the tears of millions of American mothers.

"I would give my life, if it would stop the war," declares Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee. "I hope the present war will be the last."

A little income tax publicity wouldn't hurt. Are "John D.", "J. Pierp", J. Ogden Armour, George J. Gould and other bloated multi-millionaires coming across? We want to know.

Russia's republic came a step nearer realization when a congress of Mussulman delegates from all parts of Russia voted 446 to 271 in favor of establishing a federal republic.

"There won't be any referendums—there is only one thing that is demanded of the American people now—that thing is SUBMISSION!"—Editorial in Chicago paper, 1917.

World capitalism fears the Stockholm Socialist Conference because it fears it foreshadows a rising of the world's proletariat to end the war. We hope their fears are well grounded.

Canadian organized labor is rallying its forces in its fight to continue its opposition to conscription. How refreshing in contrast to the servile position taken by organized labor in the United States.

"Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends (the protection of life, liberty, and happiness), it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it."—Declaration of Independence, 1776.

At last! The United States Supreme Court has announced an end to all attempts at trust busting until the end of the war. Now let congress get busy on behalf of the nation and annex all of the trusts. If it doesn't, the trusts will surely bust us.

Vorwaerts, the Berlin Socialist daily, says that the Socialist council of workmen's and soldiers' delegates, in Russia speaks in clear terms which will shake Bay, where there is no danger in sight. A son of Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo will be in command. If congress votes Vandenberg and McAdoo a medal it ought to bear the slogan, "Safety First!"

The union trust has been indicted by the government at Boston, Mass. This is the result of several years of investigation. It will now take several years to get a conviction. By that time it is expected that the people themselves will have solved the food problem.

Swiss Socialists evidently have their own methods for enforcing the right of free press. Editor Paul Grabe, of the newspaper, La Sentinelle, who is also a national councillor, was freed from jail by sympathizers when he was sentenced to eight days' imprisonment for an article he had written.

Alfred G. Vanderbilt has offered the use of his yacht, Adriatic, for use in arid waters, Chesapeake Bay, where there is no danger in sight. A son of Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo will be in command. If congress votes Vandenberg and McAdoo a medal it ought to bear the slogan, "Safety First!"

"If a man refuses to buy a Liberty Bond, I say, knock him down," is the gentle advice given Chicago bond salesmen by Charles G. Dawes, the banking king. We always did have a suspicion that bankers were acquainted with the gentle arts of highway-men.

Count Tisza, pillar of monarchy and reaction in the Central Empires, has lost his job as premier of Hungary. His work was to keep the people at home in subjection. Now that he has been deposed, other pillars of monarchy in the central empires will no doubt crumble more rapidly. A beginning has been made.

Another scandal growing out of the war has arrived. Two Red Cross nurses were killed on shipboard while on the way to Europe when the gun crew was practicing with defective shells left over from the Spanish-American war in 1898. Perhaps the government will resurrect some of Armour's embalmed beef of the same epoch in our history and feed it to the soldiers. Worse things may happen.

Giving voice to their spirit of internationalism, the executive committee of the council of workmen's and soldiers' delegates in Russia, decided to telegraph the International Socialist Bureau and the Socialist organizations of all countries, especially the Socialist Party of Austria, urging the utmost efforts to prevent the execution of Dr. Friederich Adler, the assassin of Premier Stuerghkh of Austria. The committee describes Dr. Adler as the champion of liberty of all the peoples and of the idea of universal peace. Adler declares his deed was provoked by the suspension immediately the war began of trial by jury and all civil rights.

After President Wilson was re-elected because "He kept us out of war", the imperialists now argue against the agitation for a referendum on the draft law, charging that the people should do as they are ordered to do by the authorities to whom they have given the power of ordering them. It is dollars to doughnuts that millions of people in this country will never again vote a capitalist politician into the presidential chair because "He kept us out of war". They are discovering that the Socialist Party is the only party that stands, first, last and all the time against war, even when the howling, jingo press demands that it should be otherwise.

Our war making administration at Washington, D. C., the other day, considering that its belligerency needed a little more enthusiastic support from the "common herd", ordered the Associated Press to send an inspired story to all the capitalist sheets in the land, detailing at great length and with great horror the well known imperialistic ambitions of Germany over her allies. It seems that Wilson and his fellow-altruists now want to save the Turk, the Bulgarian and the Austro-Hungarian, the Bagdad railroad, the Dardanelles, etc., from the hands of the Kaiser. All of which shows that Washington, even with the aid of the Associated Press, is having a hard time making a holy war for democracy out of an unprincipled commercial war for markets and trade routes over the face of the world.

Another Confession

The war makers have evidently decided that the fake "war for democracy" plea is not going to inspire intelligent men to so-called "heroic sacrifices" on the field of slaughter.

So it is suggested that the government go into the "medal and decoration" business inaugurated by the kings, kaisers, princes and potentates of Europe to inveigle soldiers into needlessly offering up their lives on the butchers' block in Europe's huge abattoir.

It is reported that after the first few months of the European war the mothers of France, Germany, England and other countries, wrote to their sons on the battle fields not to bother about the Croix de Guerre, the Iron Cross, the Victoria Cross, or other pieces of tin or iron. They would rather have their sons back in place of any "decorations" or "medals" that war making governments might send them.

This war has also brought out the fact that most of the medals go to officers, stationed far in the rear of the firing line. They never get killed. Of course, the poor devil in the front line trenches, being shot to smithereens, hasn't got much use for medals anyway.

If the people of the United States believed this a war for their interests there would be no need for medals and decorations. The movement to create an assortment of this brand of war tinsel, aping the customs of Europe's monarchies, is the biggest confession yet that the masses are not in sympathy with this war.

Conscientious Objectors

Among the most repulsive brutalities of the European war, in which we are now engaged, is Great Britain's treatment of the so-called "conscientious objectors". "Forceful feeding" and all the other barbarities inflicted upon the militant suffragettes are respectable institutions in comparison.

Great Britain's 20th Century Spanish Inquisition, if it is to be transplanted to America, seems to have no terrors for the "conscientious objectors" to war in this country.

This problem is being brought more and more to the attention of the public by certain Quakers, churchmen, Socialists, anti-militarists, trade unionists and others whose religious convictions and ideas of brotherhood prompt them to resist the bloody business of human slaughter.

About a score of organizations were represented at a meeting of conscientious objectors held at the headquarters of the Woman's Peace Party in New York City recently.

Some believed that their opposition to war would prevent them from doing anything whatever to help it. Eight of those present said they would not register for the draft and 21 said they would, but that they would not fight if drawn.

It is planned to appoint legal committees to assist those who refuse service. How much assistance they will need is a question that will probably be answered on June 5th.

Introducing Bismarckism

One of the first protests against the refusal of the state department at Washington to grant passports to Morris Hillquit, Victor L. Berger and Algonern Lee, to attend the International Socialist Conference at Stockholm, was fired to Washington by Comrade W. M. Brandt, secretary of the St. Louis, Mo. Socialist Party. He protested to the senators and representatives in congress from his state as follows:

"We are informed by daily press dispatches that the state department refuses passports to Algonern Lee, Victor Berger and Morris Hillquit to International Socialist Conference in Stockholm. Does this mean that ancient Bismarckism, with its anti-Socialist measures, is to be introduced in the United States? Please see to it that constitutional rights of these three American citizens be respected by state department. Why promise democracy to Teutonic nations in Kaiserland while we are so much in need of it in Washington, D. C."

Similar telegrams should be sent to Washington by every Socialist local in the nation and letters carrying this protest to the nation's capitol should be written by every Socialist and sympathizer in the land. The Prussians must be driven out of Washington, D. C., and the seat of government restored to the people.

That Identity Of Interests

That the interests of labor and capital are not identical, even in time of war, is shown in the strenuous protest lodged by the United Mine Workers of America, the coal miners' union, against the policy and personnel of the coal production committee named by the government thru the national council of defense.

If the interests of labor and capital are identical, as some of our jingo labor leaders insist, then it shouldn't matter if this coal production committee were made up exclusively of coal barons.

But the coal miners insist that the "war for democracy" has entirely disregarded the miners of the nation, and that the defense council has failed to get the miners' union any recognition.

"Bang!" goes the dream of identity of interests. On the coal production committee the miners will fight for their rights. Off the committee they will do the same.

Which reminds us that the government won't get on with the miners until the coal barons get off their backs.

There can be no truce between labor and capital even in war times.

Under Private Ownership

A traveling salesman reports conditions that aid in boosting the high cost of living to be as follows: "In this Rio Grande district in Texas the largest crop of spinach, onions, cabbage, and green stuff ever raised is now about ready for the market. At the present time the greater proportion of cabbage is being fed to live stock, as there is no transportation-railroad cars do not get back here after going east."

That is a condition that exists under the private ownership of our railroads. The railroad kings have been so busy milking the transportation systems of the nation of every cent possible of profits, that it is impossible to get even broken down cars to handle the most necessary business of every railroad, the transportation of the food we eat.

The insincerity of the war making administration at Washington is shown by the simple fact that it doesn't take over and operate immediately every mile of railroad track in the nation.

It will not be possible to get the best transportation facilities until we get Socialism. Because then, and then only, will the railroads be operated to be used for the benefit of all, and not to make profits for the few.